

Message Text

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15

ACTION EUR-25

INFO OCT-01 NEA-14 IO-14 ISO-00 AF-10 ACDA-19 AEC-11

AECE-00 CU-04 OIC-04 SAJ-01 CIAE-00 DODE-00 NSAE-00

NSCE-00 SSO-00 USIE-00 INRE-00 PM-07 H-03 INR-10 L-03

NSC-07 PA-04 RSC-01 PRS-01 SP-03 SS-20 OMB-01 SAM-01

TRSE-00 EB-11 SCI-06 DRC-01 /182 W

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O R 081140Z JUN 74

FM USMISSION GENEVA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 6342

INFO ALL CSCE CAPITALS 150

AMEMBASSY CIARO

AMEMBASSY LISBON

AMEMBASSY LUXEMBOURG

AMEMBASSY NICOSIA

AMEMBASSY OSLO

AMEMBASSY RABAT

AMEMBASSY SOFIA

AMEMBASSY TUNIS

USNMR SHAPE

USCINCEUR

USDOCOWOUTH

SULO SACLANT NORFOLK VA

CINCLANT

C O N F I D E N T I A L GENEVA 3647

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR

SUBJ: CSCE: STAGE II HIGHLIGHTS-JUNE 3-7

PLEASE NOTE: WE HAVE RECEIVED INDICATIONS THROUGH
DELEGATIONS HERE THAT THE CONTENT OF OUR HIGHLIGHTS
CABLES IS SOMETIMES USED BY US EMBASSY OFFICERS IN
DISCUSSIONS WITH FOREGIN MINISTRY OFFICIALS IN CAPITALS.

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WHILE MUCH OF THE CONTENT OF THESE CABLES IS FACTUAL

REPORTING, WE WOULD CAUTION AGAINST SUCH USE OF OUR COMMENTS, OR OF ANY REPORTING OF OUR PRIVATE CONVERSATIONS WITH OTHER DELEGATIONS.

1. SUMMARY: SLOW PROGRESS CONTINUED THIS WEEK ON SOME CSCE SUBJECTS, BUT IN THE KEY AREAS OF MILITARY SECURITY AND BASKET III, TOTAL DEADLOCK REMAINED. THE SOVIETS NEVERTHELESS BLANDLY CONTINUED TO TALK OF COMPLETING STATE II BY THE END OF JUNE, FOR A THIRD STAGE SUMMIT IN JULY. END SUMMARY.

2. GENERAL SITUATION--THE CONFERENCE SANK FURTHER INTO AN ATMOSPHERE OF LISTLESSNESS THIS WEEK, DESPITE SOME SOVIET EFFORTS TO SHOW THEY ARE STILL INTERESTED IN AN EARLY CONCLUSION. IN WORKING GROUP ON FOLLOW-UP, EASTERN COUNTRIES PROPOSED STARTING DRAFTING OF FINAL RESOLUTION, BUT WESTERN REPRESENTATIVES REPLIED THAT THIS WAS POINTLESS AS LONG AS CSCE WAS NOT ADVANCING. WORKING GROUP ON CONFERENCE SCHEDULE AGREED TO A NEW FOUR-WEEK PROGRAM OF MEETINGS, TAKING STATE II UP TO JULY 12. SOVIET REP POINTED OUT THAT STAGE II SHOULD FINISH BEFORE THAT DATE, BUT NO ONE, NOT EVEN THE FINNISH DELEGATION, TOOK HIM SERIOUSLY. ALL DELEGATIONS AGREED THAT FUNDAMENTAL QUESTIONS ABOUT WHAT HAPPENS NEXT WOULD HAVE TO BE ANSWERED BEFORE THE EXPIRATION OF THIS NEW CALENDAR, AND A SPECIAL MEETING OF THE COORDINATING COMMITTEE WILL BE SET FOR JUNE 28 TO REVIEW THE SITUATION AND TO DISCUSS POSSIBILITIES FOR STAGE III.

3. PRINCIPLES AND THEIR IMPLEMENTATION--AS DRAFTING OF NON-INTERVENTIAON PRINCIPLE CONTINUED, WESTERN COUNTRIES ATTEMPTED TO STRIKE DIFFICULT BALANCE BETWEEN UNDERCUTTING BREZHNEV DOCTRINE AND PROTECTING WESTERN HUMANITARIAN INTERESTS, INCLUDING THOSE IN BASKET III. IN DRAFTING OF FIRST SENTENCE, NATO AND NEUTRAL DELS GENERALLY CHOSE TO TAKE AIM AT BREZHNEV DOCTRINE BY SUPPORTING EXHAUSTIVE WORDING RULING OUT VARIOUS TYPES OF AND EXCUSES FOR INTERVENTION. SOVIETS BLOCKED AGREEMENT ON THIS SENTENCE, BUT SUBCOMMITTEE DEFERRED

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THE MATTER AND MOVED ON TO REACH TENTATIVE AGREEMENT ON THE SECOND SENTENCE WHICH COULD HELP SAFEGUARD WESTERN HUMANITARIAN INTERESTS BUT IS ALSO SOMEWHAT MORE FAVORABLE TO BREZHNEV DOCTRINE. FINNS TABLED A NEW PARAGRAPH STATING THAT PARTICIPATING STATES "WILL RESPECT THE POLITICAL, ECONOMIC AND CULTURAL FOUNDATIONS OF OTHER PARTICIPATING STATES, AS WELL AS THEIR RIGHT TO DETERMINE THEIR OWN LEGISLATIVE AND REGULATORY

SYSTEMS". IN SPECIAL WORKINGBODY, SOVIETS REFUSED ANY COMPROMISE ALLOWING REGISTRATION, EVEN IN BRACKETS, OF WORDING BASED ON DISARMAMENT PARAGRAPH OF ROMANIAN PROPOSAL.

4. MILITARY SECURITY--ALL SIDES STUCK CLOSE TO THEIR ORIGINAL POSITIONS ON PRIOR NOTIFICATION OF MAJOR MILITARY MANEUVERS, AND VERY LITTLE PROGRESS TOWARD CONSENSUS WAS MADE ON THIS SUBJECT. ON GEOGRAPHIC AREA, WARSAW PACT COUNTRIES HELD FIRMLY TO ZONAL CONCEPT, AND SHOWED NO DISPOSITION TO WIDEN BORDER BAND BEYOND 50 KILOMETERS. NATO GROUP ARGUED FOR EUROPEAN CONTINENT AND BOTH SIDES ACCUSED EACH OTHER OF RIGIDITY. UK PROPOSED AREA FOR NOTIFICATION MIGHT ALSO INCLUDE ADJOINING SEA AREAS AND AIR SPACE, IF APPLICABLE. THIS FORMULATION FOUND GENERAL FAVOR IN NATO CAUCUS. REGARDING TIME FOR NOTIFICATION, BULGARIA OFFERED TO INCREASE PERIOD FROM FIVE DAYS TO ONE WEEK. NEUTRALS ARGUED FOR THIRTY DAYS AND NATO STUCK TO SIXTY DAYS. AGAIN AN IMPASSE WAS REACHED. DEBATE ON CONTENT OF NOTIFICATION CONFIRMED WARSAW PACT DESIRE FOR MINIMUM OF SPECIFIC DETAIL AND ITS CONCERN OVER CLASSIFIED ASPECTS OF NOTIFICATION. SEVERAL DELEGATIONS ARE CONVINCED THAT INFORMAL SESSIONS ARE THE ONLY WAY TO BRING POSITIONS CLOSER TOGETHER, BUT THE NETHERLANDS PERSISTS IN ITS OPPOSITION TO THIS IDEA.

5. ECONOMICS, SCIENCE/TECHNOLOGY, ENVIRONMENT--FULL COMMITTEE CONTINUED TO CONSIDER HOW TO DEAL WITH THE QUESTION OF DEVELOPING COUNTRIES IN ITS PREAMBLE. TURKEY INTRODUCED AGREED NATO COMPROMISE PROPOSAL, REFERRING TO "DEVELOPING COUNTRIES AND REGIONS
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THROUGHOUT THE WORLD INCLUDING THOSE IN EUROPE". IMMEDIATE EASTERN REACTION WAS NEGATIVE TO ENTIONING LDCS IN EUROPE. SUBCOMMITTEE ON COMMERCIAL EXCHANGES RESUMED ITS DISCUSSION OF ARBITRATION, BUT DEADLOCKED AS THE RESULT OF SOVIET UNWILLINGNESS TO AGREE TO A RECOMMENDATION FAVORING ARBITRATION IN THIRD COUNTRIES. IT THEN TURNED TO DRAFT ON BUSINESS CONTACTS, AND MADE SLIGHT PROGRESS. INDUSTRIAL COOPERATION SUBCOMMITTEE CONTINUED TO WORK ON THE INFORMATION SECTION OF ITS DRAFT RESOLUTION AND MADE MINOR HEADWAY. ALTHOUGH NEW COMPROMISE FORMULATIONS HAVE BEEN TRIED, INCLUDING SEVERAL PROPOSED BY USDEL, SUBCOMMITTEE ON SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY REMAINED DEADLOCKED ON FORMULATIONS RELATED TO "DEVELOPING COUNTRIES", "RECIPROCITY" AND "DIRECT

CONTACTS".

6. HUMANITARIAN COOPERATION--IN FULL COMMITTEE
FINNS TABLED A NEW VERSION OF THE KEY PREAMBULAR
PARAGRAPH REFERRING TO THE PRINCIPLES GUIDING RELATIONS
BETWEEN STATES. IN CONTRAST TO THEIR REACTION TO
PREVIOUS FINNISH EFFORTS, THE SOVIETS DID NOT
REJECT THIS NEW VERSION, AND SOME EASTERN DELEGATIONS
EXPRESSED INTEREST IN IT. HUMAN CONTACTS SUBCOMMITTEE
HELD SEVERAL FORMAL SESSIONS, WITH BOTH SIDES
HARRANGING ON FILMS, RADIO, TV. TWO LONG AND FRIENDLY
INFORMAL SESSIONS WERE HELD FRIDAY TO DISCUSS THE
TEXT ON ACCESS TO WRITTEN INFORMATION WHICH HAS
CAUSED DEADLOCK SINCE MARCH 29. NO REAL PROGRESS WAS
MADE, BUT AGREEMENT WAS REACHED TO DISCUSS OTHER
TOPICS WHILE INFORMAL SESSIONS ON "ACCESS" CONTINUE.
WHILE ATMOSPHERE IN SUBCOMMITTEES ON CULTURE AND
EDUCATION ALSO IMPROVE, ONLY MINIMAL PROGRESS WAS
ACHIEVED ON SUBSTANTIVE ISSUES UNDER DISCUSSION.

7. COMMENT: SOVIET TACTICS HAVE CLARIFIED SOMEWHAT
DURING THE PAST WEEK. IT NOW SEEMS CLEAR THAT THEIR
CONTINUED PUSH FOR AN EARLY CONCLUSION TO CSCE,
COUPLED WITH THEIR OBSTINATE RESISTANCE TO ANY PROGRESS
ON SUBJECTS THEY DISLIKE, IS DESIGNED TO BUILD
UP POLITICAL PRESSURES, WHICH THEY HOPE TO RESOLVE
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THROUGH HIGHLEVEL BILATERAL CONTACTS, ESPECIALLY
THE US-SOVIET SUMMIT IN MOSCOW. THIS STRATEGY EMERGED
CLEARLY IN GDR LEADER ERICH HONECKER'S JUNE 3 STATEMENT
THAT HE IS CONFIDENT A JULY CSCE SUMMIT IS
STILL POSSIBLE BECAUSE OF THE "SOON-TO-BE-RENEWED
DIALOGUE" BETWEEN BREZHNEV AND PRESIDENT NIXON.
THIS SAME LINE OF THINKING HAS BEEN SUGGESTED
REPEATEDLY IN OUR PRIVATE CONTACTS WITH THE SOVIET
DELEGATION HERE. THE SOVIETS EVIDENTLY HOPE THAT
THE MOSCOW SUMMIT WILL CLEAR AWAY THE OBSTACLES TO
A CSCE CONCLUSION, AND THAT WESTERN LEADERS CAN
THEN BE PERSUADED TO AGREE TO AN EARLY THIRD STAGE
SUMMIT. TIME PRESSURES WOULD THEN EXCLUDE ANYTHING
BUT A VERY GENERALIZED FINAL DOCUMENT OF THE KIND THE
SOVIETS HAVE ALWAYS WANTED.

8. WE HAVE WARNED THE SOVIET DELEGATION HERE THAT
THE SITUATION IS MORE COMPLEX, AND WESTERN VIEWS MORE
STRONGLY HELD, THAN THEY APPARENTLY REALIZE, AND HAVE
CAUTIONED THEM AGAINST THINKING THAT THE PROBLEMS OF
CSCE CAN BE RESOLVED AT A US-SOVIET SUMMIT. IN FACT,
THE CONTINUING BUILD-UP OF A NEGATIVE WESTERN VIEW,

OF CSCE MAKES IT HIGHLY UNLIKELY THAT THE TREND COULD
BE REVERSED BY ANY UNDERSTANDING WHICH MIGHT
BE REACHED DURING THE LATE JUNE MOSCOW SUMMIT. BY
THEN, EUROPEAN GOVERNMENTAL OPINION WILL HAVE HARDENED,
AND COULD NOT EASILY BE CHANGED. WE HAVE REPEATEDLY
TOLD THE SOVIET DELEGATION THAT, ON THE CONTRARY,
THEY WILL HAVE TO BUILD, SLOWLY AND CAREFULLY, A
POSITIVE WESTERN VIEW OF THE CONFERENCE, IF THEY HOPE
FOR A SUCCESSFUL CONCLUSION. AT AN EARLY DATE. IRONICALLY, IT
MAY ALREADY BE TOO LATE FOR THEM TO DO SO. END COMMENT.
ABRAMS

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